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AN ADDRESS *from S. Hubba*

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TO THE

CITIZENS OF CONNECTICUT;

BY THE FRIENDS OF

**ANDREW JACKSON,**

IN NORWICH AND VICINITY.

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NORWICH:

L. H. YOUNG, PRINTER.

1828.

AT a casual meeting of the friends of Gen. JACKSON, held at the house of H. Downing, inn-holder, in Norwich, May 1, 1828 :

Major SIMEON HUBBARD was called to the chair, and EPAPHRAS PORTER, Esq. chosen Secretary.

*Voted*, That the Chairman be requested to prepare an Address to the people of this State, and to present the same to this meeting at some future day, for consideration.

*Voted*, That David Tracy, Burrel Woodworth, Epaphras Porter, and Stephen L'Hommedieu, Esquires, be a committee to draft resolutions, also to be presented to this meeting for approbation.

*Voted*, That this meeting be adjourned to the 13th inst. then to meet at Congdon's tavern, at the Falls.

SIMEON HUBBARD, Chairman.

E. PORTER, Secretary.



## ADDRESS.

*Citizens of Connecticut :*

YOUR fellows in Norwich and its vicinity, who favor the election of General ANDREW JACKSON to the Presidency, relying on the exigencies of the times and custom of the day for their apology, presume to address you at a crisis when the high state of public excitement which has grown out of the events of the last election, has imparted to the one approaching, a character portending that its decision will also embrace that of the highly interesting question, Whether to man, in a state of freedom, with prosperity, and ease resulting from the absence of external pressure, it is given to duly estimate his privileges, and to preserve them by the exercise of reason alone, or that a frequent resort to revolution is indispensable for the perpetuation of his liberties ?

That with us you will, on reflection, deem the subject to be one of vast importance, is not to be doubted ; nor is it that our reasonings thereon will be respected, if judged to be correct ; and should this, our Address, however otherwise deficient, appear to be clad with the mantle of sincerity, its claim to kindness will probably meet with favor.

As a voice in the weighty concern of President-making has been secured to us by the Constitution, it is to us of the greatest importance that it should be uttered with understanding, and made to accord with the dictates of wisdom. To which end, while open to conviction, and willing ourselves to profit by others, we would respectfully invite your attention to the following facts and circumstances, and the inferences that we have drawn therefrom.

By sacred history it is made known to us, that the peculiar people from whom has been derived our holy religion, were, by factions repeatedly generated by the intrigues of the ambitious, first shaken, and often ; then

rent in twain, and made into two nations, and with feelings so hostile as to favor their successive subjugation and dispersion, which finally took place; when from their respective cities the one was taken into endless captivity—merged and lost among distant nations—and the other driven to roam and to wander, like pilgrims and palmers, wretched and forlorn, as we see to this day.

We also learn from profane history, ancient and modern, that the subversion of the Free States in Asia, Africa, and Europe, has in every instance been effected by similar means: being brought by intrigue, first to factions, then anarchy, and in some instances, to despotism, and then factions again; the reign of which ended only in their subjugation, or incorporation with other states, or new empires. From these facts, we have drawn the following conclusions:—That in intrigues for office, such as we now witness to be the universal practice of our demagogues, we may discern the germ of *feuds, bloodshed, and carnage, with horrible desperation, and dissolution of the body politic*; and that all of these evils, although confessed to be the greatest that can be brought upon nations, we are about to bring upon ourselves and posterity, by our weak credulities and chilling apathies, through the indulgence of which we have been brought to neglect those things that pertain to the security of liberty; and to thereby evince a weariness in her cause, and a strong desire, or instinctive propensity, to free ourselves from the shackles (cares) which freedom imposes upon its votaries.

The dangers to which we are exposed by this neglect, will be made the more apparent, by the due consideration of our invaluable institutions.

From having united a federative with our representative system, we have attained to far more of individual liberty than has ever been enjoyed by a numerous and great people. But from the same circumstance which imparts to our systems an extreme delicacy, we hold our liberties and immunities by a far more frail tenure than is generally imagined. Hence, the first appearance of intrigue in our counells, should be considered

highly alarming, its extension ominous of woes unspeakable, and the omission of our public duties, culpable to the highest degree; for as in regal governments the *crown* is the grand object of the most ambitious, so, in republican states, is the chief magistracy; to gain which, the most wily aspirant begins with addressing the passions and interests, first of individuals, to make parties, then of parties, to stir up factions in their favor; which, when formed, will be put in requisition, and there held till the object is gained, or the desperate adventurer lost, amidst the desolating scenes of his own creating.

Is this, fellow-citizens, a fair expose of the demon, Faction?—of its beginnings, on which a smile at its arch cunning is often an encouragement to proceed?—its ends, on the bare anticipation of which we involuntarily shudder with horror? If so, then with what abhorrence should we look upon the authors of every attempt to array particular interests, or the sectional jealousies and prejudices of a wide-spread and far-stretching empire, and to bring the same, regularly marshalled, into a contested field of strifes, where the Presidency, *that most sacred interest*, is put up, and to be won or lost, as is any other desperate game! Truly, all will say, that the authors and abettors of such a state of things, are deserving of public execration. But do we not know that such, though an abortive attempt was made in 1801, when a desperate faction, professing to be governed by the letter of the constitution, while their acts were in open rebellion against its spirit, resolved to make Burr President, in bold defiance of the people's will? And has it not been affirmed, and is it not now believed, that a similar attempt was carried into too successful execution in 1825, when as clear an expression of popular favor was again derided, held as nought, and made of no account? And is it not certain that, in the last canvass, there was a general effort of the press in this quarter, to excite sectional jealousies, and the prejudices incident to differences in latitude, by insisting on the necessity of a northern and non-slave-holding President? And is there not now an unparalleled effort to unite the grow-

ers and workers of wool throughout the country, in a general and simultaneous assault upon the public mind, for the same selfish and unrighteous purpose? And to what do these things tend? On this, let every one consider, and in the answer to himself will be found sufficient reasons to abandon the ground on which the defence is usually made; viz. the Southrons do the same. Therefore, we can have no excuse for this blind course, nor have our brethren of the south, in saying (that which we fear is too true) that we set the dangerous example.

We also have seen, and now see, the unimportant circumstance, (the offspring of a foolish pride,) whether the master of the house lodges in the north, east, south, or west chamber, made a subject of grave concern to many, in all parts of the union. Alas! and has it so soon come to this, that many of the framers of our present constitution live to see the day when considerations, in themselves so trifling, (but which lead to strife and disunion when indulged in,) should be made by intriguers, in every section, an object of prime interest to the people? And, also, has the evil day so soon arrived, in which a candidate for the Presidency, to insure success, must intrigue, and fawn, and flatter, and promise, "and become all things to all men," that he may gain some *votes*; and when the question is, by intrigue, brought to the House, must descend to barter for office, and be obliged to say who he will and who he will not appoint his prime minister and heir? Yes, it may be truly said, *we have seen all these things*. Then, what obligations are we under to posterity, (if reckless of ourselves,) to pause and ponder upon these evidences of depraved morals, of which it may be said in truth, that each one stands in the political firmament as a sign of fearful omen! and how clearly, when collectively taken, do they evince that mists, which have been created by the designing for that purpose, have arisen, to intercept the views of men, and to make dark those paths, by the following of which only, can our liberties be perpetuated! And in these mists can we not discern embryo clouds of the most portentous character? clouds, angry, hostile, and

increasing, which, unless now dispersed and dissipated by an immediate and general effort, will, on being driven into rude contact by our adverse winds, pour out upon us their devastating contents, and make desolate the abodes of a now happy, but too credulous and careless people?

To our minds, fellow-citizens, these dangers are presented as *real*; and not as the effects of a disordered imagination. And as they are not merely dangers of the moment, confined to the present time and present contest, but are subjects of general interest and lasting importance, we entreat you to give them a careful and candid examination; but with a particular view to the coming election, to a fortunate issue of which, such examination will, in our opinion, prove to be eminently conducive.

That to the one approaching, a vast weight of interest is derived, from the circumstances attending the last election, is a truth that will not be denied; while in regard to the character of those circumstances, a diversity of opinion is known to exist. To arrive at just conclusions in this respect, and also in the investigation of the grounds on which the adverse parties now present their several claims to the public, for favor in this canvass, it is necessary to trace the progress of the last, from the beginning to its end.

Mr. Adams, from an usage, (but which had from the first been considered dangerous,) was placed in the situation of a candidate with a preponderating claim; and Mr. Crawford, also, being the favorite of the prominent leaders in the republican ranks, was by them first spoken of, and then nominated by the republican members of both Houses of Congress, in strict accordance with another usage. These two forward candidates being pitted against each other, were by their opponents, each assailed in what was deemed to be their vulnerable point, although it in each case constituted the principal item in their respective claims; viz. the grounds on which they were severally presented to the nation:—the one from being principal secretary, and the other from being named by what was called a central power. In this state of things, the

friends of Mr. Calhoun (then in the cabinet, as was Mr. Crawford also,) nominated him, as did the friends of Mr. Clay (who was then Speaker of the House) their favorite.

With neither of these candidates were the people satisfied, as it appears; for after sundry nominations, direct and indirect, made in different quarters of the Union, by individuals, and while the partizans of the other candidates were getting up parties for their respective favorites, and before they were all named, the people came out in their strength in behalf of one to whom they had long before yielded their confidence, and on whom, from the first development of his high ability, they had rested the greatest hopes. And thus the political campaign, which was to eventuate in the election of a sixth candidate, was commenced on the one part by the people, arrayed in the panoply of a righteous cause, and supported by their honesty and gratitude; and by the partizans of the other candidates on the other part, each for their leader, and armed with the strength of the press, divided and meted out amongst themselves, and supported by intriguers, mercenary chapmen, and managers.

This, although it may not be altogether chronologically strict, is nevertheless a fair representation, and otherwise historically correct, and offers us ample matter for just conclusions; to arrive at which, is presumed to be the desire of all. To facilitate the object, it may be necessary, preliminarily, to observe: that where men are *free*, it is, in matters of weighty concern to them, of the first necessity to *consider their perceptions—to consult their wills*; for in such cases, they cannot be heedlessly passed, as automatons, by their leaders, or unnoticed with impunity. Nor is it either just or desirable that they should or could be; for by establishing the fact, we should prove that free government was at an end.

That Mr. Adams, Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Calhoun have ability, and would, either, have made a good President, *if fairly elected*, admits of no doubt; for each, at the time, was so unexceptionable, that the election of either would have caused no more than a trifling op-

position, which would have been confined to the immediate friends of the others, and the disappointed seekers after the "loaves and fishes." Nor could *more* have been effected, had a *combination* been entered into for that purpose. The reasons for this opinion derive their weight from the circumstance of a want of excitement on the part of the people, who had no choice, and consequently were enveloped in careless indifference.

They discovered no *animated perceptions*; exhibited no *zeal*; manifested no *determined will*: for, in truth, they had no more grounds for choice and preference, than they would have had for the selection of *one* from a dozen of similar wine-glasses, or as many cents, presented them for that purpose. But were a silver goblet added to the one, and a golden eagle to the other parcel, and the offer still continued, an interest, proceeding from *clear perceptions*, would have enkindled an *electrifying zeal*, and produced a *determined will*; as was manifested by them, when to the number of candidates was added one, to whom they owed a debt of gratitude for the most signal services—services, which they had from the first been desirous for an opportunity to compensate, by the bestowment of their richest gift; one, to whom they had yielded all confidence, and on whose arm they had the firmest reliance for protection.

Then, on a just calculation, how faint were the prospects of the other candidates, with the people! How ineffectual their strife against both wind and tide, with such feeble means! and what chance of success? Why just the same as would the glasses, in a feeble struggle, or cents, have had, in the case supposed, and no more. Nor would the chances have varied, had scores of the most perfect manufacture been added to the glasses, and hundreds to the cents, bright and fresh from the mint; nor the result been otherwise, had there been as many added to the list of candidates, from those, how otherwise worthy, whose deeds had failed to quicken the public mind. But without the addition of the *goblet*, or *eagle*, the question might have been quickly settled by those who, by using glasses,

were enabled to discover some *trifling excellence*. So, without the addition of JACKSON to the list, the politicians might have determined the question among themselves, without disturbing the nation. But not quietly could they have settled the question, when to the list of minor names a major one was added, even if they had, by art, first wheedled the people into a momentary wilderness of mind, and thereby gained their object of promoting a lesser. Then how preposterous to imagine themselves able to secure such object, and stifle tumultuous feeling, after bringing the question to themselves, by intrigues resorted to for that purpose!

That intrigues were resorted to, for the purpose of bringing the election to the House, is made apparent to us from the following circumstances:

The leaders of the parties attached to the other candidates, it will be recollected, had at first labored with might and main, to encircle the brows of their respective favorites with an halo of light that would be perceptible to the people.

But in this they failed; for the glories of Jackson, like those of the sun at the meridian, whose effulgence was not to be withstood, had diffused their benign influences (confidence, repose, and comfort) throughout the land. Lesser lights, if orbs, were of course unnoticed. Hence the necessity on the part of the less popular, to bring it within a narrower compass. To the House, then, they resolved it must come; being each over-sanguine in their strength within that fortress where intrigue gathers confidence from example—the Adams and Clay men, in unnatural league, confiding in “safe precedents,” and the Crawford men in caucus strength—while the friends of Mr. Calhoun, either more patriotic and just, or more wise, withdrew his pretensions, and gave precedence to the favorite of the people.

But not so did Mr. Clay and his friends; for, after holding a meeting in Washington, they resolved still to hold him up before the people. Accordingly he was continued, and unquestionably for the sole purpose of lessening the otherwise certain major vote of Jackson; from whom he had the power, through favoritism, to



divert some few votes to himself, and probably to have given them to Mr. Crawford; but not to transfer them to Mr. Adams. The consequence of this *ruse de politique* was the bringing the question to the House, by reducing the Jackson vote. And also, to it we may ascribe the otherwise unaccountable vote of the State of New York, which was taken from the prominent candidate, Mr. Crawford, and given to Mr. Adams, for the purpose of securing to him an accession of strength, at the expense of the former; that the House might with less reluctance be brought to consummate a series of intrigues, resorted to by the leaguers, to secure the objects of their ambition.

As it is to the actions only of diplomatists and public men, that we should look while in search of  *motive* ; we would ask if, in the conduct of the parties in that transaction, who now sue our favor, we do not discover just grounds for such inferences? and whether the same should not be deemed correct, and sufficient to govern our conduct towards them, at least so far as to withdraw our confidence, if hitherto placed, and to withhold our vote, at the coming election, if already prepared?

Although in the House, to which it was brought by dexterous management, it still required a bold address and consummate art, to surmount the obstacles which Jackson's popularity had placed in the way.

The people, generally, ignorant of the extent of the intrigues, entertained no suspicion of fraud, nor doubt that their choice would be approved, their voice respected, and their nomination confirmed. And Mr. Clay's own State, (Kentucky,) aware of the designs of this ambitious citizen, enjoined it upon her representatives, by a legislative resolve, to respect the popular voice, and vote for *Jackson*. This, which certainly was thought sufficient to insure the vote of that State, by arresting the will of the most refractory, (as it doubtless would, had he not in his imagination previously secured an *Empire*, by which he could well afford to lose a *State*,) seemed to cause Mr. Clay himself to hesitate for a moment. And hence it is probable, that out-of-door tools, with which intriguers within ever

take care to be supplied, were employed to sound the opposite coast; (this appears to have been the case from Mr. Buchanan's letter.) But on the receipt of an unfavorable report, the original design was prosecuted. What that design was, the making a *President* of Mr. Adams by Mr. Clay, (who bore him all hate,) and an *Heir* of Mr. Clay, by Mr. Adams, (who bore him no love,) renders sufficiently palpable; and in it we have a true chart, by which we may avoid the numerous shoals (intrigues) among which we are now endangered, and breakers (factions) to which we are onward pressing; and to shape our course to that haven, in which only can the ship of State be moored with safety, or anchored in security.

The grand objects which Messrs. Adams and Clay had in view, respectively, were made manifest by the issues of the election and appointment being in conformity with what had before been stated by Mr. Kremer to have been their intentions; and from the event, he must certainly be supposed to have had evidence of the facts he announced.

The original design, as it appears to us, was to gain by *intrigue, bargain, and management*, objects which they knew could not be obtained by honorable means. This conclusion we have drawn from circumstances that impose more conviction upon the understanding, than do those which simply rest on *legal evidence*; it being similar to those impressions of guiltiness that oftentimes rest on the minds of judge, jury, and spectator, when a felon escapes justice, merely from the lack of *legal proof*; and it comes to us with irresistible force, notwithstanding the opinion of his Honor Judge Marshall to the contrary.

Here, it seems pertinent to observe, that we deem the time to have come, when it should be considered the bounden duty of every man to unpin his faith from the sleeve or sleeves of any and every man, to which they are fastened, be the pin never so rusty from long dormancy and exposure to the vapors of other bodies; and especially (in political questions of this sort) if they are the bodies of high judicial functionaries. For it should be recollected that these *giants*

*in the law*, are sometimes monsters in politics ; or at least a monstrous hindrance to political justice : witness the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, to whose *profundity* Parliament was obliged to oppose special legislation, to protect the subject ; also a predecessor of his honor, (whose name we hope not to take in vain) who, being a *permanent*, as is his honor, (who of course stands as “an anomaly in free government,”) was impeached : that measure being the only means left to protect and ensure impartial justice to the citizen.

To us it appears evident, that if the citizens of these now free states, permit themselves to be duped and wheedled out of the use of their senses, by those who would make them believe that nothing short of *legal proof* should induce them to withdraw, or withhold their confidence from public men, they will soon have left of liberty, that only which is not worth contending for : as it is not to be imagined, that arch demagogues, apostates, and factionists, will lack in cunning so much as to call witnesses, sign, seal and deliver, when they are trading for the Presidency, and office of prime minister, with an heirship attached to it ; and especially when payment is to be made in the liberties of the people. Therefore this urging the necessity of what is called *legal evidence*, to produce conviction in these cases, should be considered as libellous upon our understandings, and these arrogant dictators be spurned from our confidence, and denounced as unfit for office, or to lead in free government.

As jealousy is one of the life-sustaining principles in popular government, it necessarily follows that it should be kept in continual exercise ; for when the principle of life ceases to act, decomposition, and the falling asunder of the component parts, is inevitable. Hence the necessity of an unremitting watchfulness over our liberties, and the necessity for the people to scrutinize the conduct of their rulers, who should be required to appear always with a *clean outside*, and informed that when lacking therein, no protestations of purity within, will be listened to, but that an unclean exterior will always be considered an unerring index of a foul interior, and proceeded against ac-

cordingly ; and in fine, that in dealing with their servants, (rulers,) these maxims which we have adopted, and consider as fundamental in free government, will be rigidly adhered to, as they cannot be disregarded with impunity, viz.: THE APPEARANCE OF INTRIGUE MUST BE PUNISHED AS INTRIGUE—OF SIN, AS SIN DESERVES.

These maxims having their foundation in the great law of self preservation, when applied to free government, now impose upon us duties that are clothed with the utmost solemnity ; duties, the importance attached to the faithful performance or criminal neglect of which, is derived from the weight of interests devolved upon us to defend ; being no less than all of those blessings that depend on the preservation and perpetuation of our happy institutions, which can in no other way be secured, than by the banishment of intrigue from our councils, and purging them from corruption.

And shall we, fellow-citizens, hesitate to perform this, our solemn obligation ? Shall we criminally neglect this, our sacred duty ?

Let every one put these interrogatories to himself, and resolve to give the important subjects the most thorough examination.

That *appearances* of corruption existed at the time, and that *strong suspicions* of their *reality* now exist, no one will deny : for although Mr. Clay, who held the balance, was confined, in his choice, to one of three, yet Mr. Adams, laboring under no such difficulty, had the ample field of the union spread before him, to select his *heir*. Therefore, as he was pleased, when so circumstanced, to prefer his enemy to all others ; and as by the selection, he seemed to establish the charge of a corrupt bargain, as made by Mr. Kremer, we are constrained to say that it is enough to bring conviction to our minds. Then, *as the appearance of intrigue should be punished as intrigue, and of sin as sin deserves* ; with what propriety can Messrs. Adams and Clay, or their friends, insist on his re-election ? And how light is theirs, in the balance, to the interests of a great people ; which, if the foregoing reasons have their foundation in truth, as is claimed, would, by a

re-election, under existing circumstances, be put to extreme jeopardy. Therefore the claim, from being repugnant to justice, and hostile to liberty, should be considered as abhorrent to common sense, and rejected.

To Mr. Adams or Mr. Clay, it will not boot, nor should it, to plead innocence; for they have voluntarily assumed the habiliments of guilt: nor to them will it avail, to plead the acts of their administration; for these can have no further bearing on the subject now before the people, than as an apology to rescue them from deeper disgrace; as the question, in our opinion, is, with the greatest reason, resolved into the simple one of, how came you here? or (if they would prefer it) *how appears it to be*, that you came into office? And still less will it profit them to plead that they have done no more than would others, had opportunity offered; unless they can prove that *all* the other candidates were prosecuting intrigues, and each for himself. Then, it would be just that it should avail them to some degree. But, as it is known, that among those who were on the list, there was at least *one* who would not give up his integrity, though tempted thereto by the richest offer, it is presumed that such plea will not be entered.

As republicans, the most of us regretted that Mr. Adams was supported on the presumptive ground of his democracy, in the last canvass; when essays, written to prove the fact by inference, were made to flood the land. And we *all* now abandon the ground as untenable; for he has since informed us, through the medium of his organ, the National Journal, that he has not changed his opinions since 1798, (the reign of terror,) and further, *that he was pained to labor under the imputation of such change!!!* Although this declaration (if late) may be thought by some to favor him as a man, yet it has failed to convince us that he is, in any point of view, so necessary to the public welfare, or desirable a chief magistrate, as to make it necessary for us (since he has not turned democrat and come over to us, as was hoped and claimed) to turn aristocrats, and go over and vote for him; for we believe

that the conflicting creeds of democracy and aristocracy are necessarily so from the structure of society, (not nature of things,) and must of necessity continue their warfare, till one or the other is vanquished, and brought to subjugation by argument or experience, as no benefit can arise to either, from examples of apostasy, vain boastings, and empty declarations.

But, laying aside party questions; as the re-election of Mr. Adams would invite intrigue, by giving public sanction to that which so appears to be, it should be considered as an evil of the first magnitude, and prevented if possible. To which end, were General Jackson to be removed by death, or otherwise incapacitated or rendered obnoxious, it would then become our duty, if no other alternative was left, to go out into the "highways and by-ways," to look up a substitute.

But as the General is yet alive, (so may it please God; also to preserve his invaluable life, for the benefit of his country, and high endowments, so eminently adapted to its present wants; as was the life of Washington, and his peculiar faculties, which so befitted the times in which he lived,) we happily are not as yet so straitened in our circumstances; nor are likely to be, unless his wicked calumniators should succeed in their nefarious attempt to present as an object of abhorrence to the people, one to whom they are indebted for the most signal services.

To oppose the wicked design of disaffecting the public through a series of frauds and misrepresentations, systematically pursued, we invite your serious consideration of the facts on which the charges rest, and the circumstances then existing, which to them impart a true character.

It should be borne in mind that, being called into public life at an early age by Gen. Washington, and continued therein, in various stations and capacities, legislative and judicial, with little interruption, by the people and government of his own State; Andrew Jackson, from that high order of mind which gives to his inflexible patriotism and uncompromising integrity,

a much greater value, had won the confidence of men to a degree that has seldom been witnessed.

From these conjoined circumstances, he was solicited by the government to undertake the defence of our southern frontier, at a period of imminent danger during the late war. To give this circumstance due weight, it is necessary to be known, that it was a service in which the knowledge of military tactics alone, could avail but little, the possession of prudence alone, still less, and if united, not much more; for it was a service in which every thing depended on the genius of the general—on the resources of his own mind. It was a field where nothing short of those high qualifications which constitute greatness both in the field and cabinet, and every where else where needed, could have enabled the general to command success—to execute the high trust, and accomplish the important objects of the campaign.

Therefore, in the ability exhibited in the performance of these important services by the victor of New Orleans, and in his integrity, since made manifest, we have in our opinion the fullest assurance of a wise, just, and happy administration of government under his auspices.

To a general who has a separate command, there is ever confided, to a degree, the execution of other than mere military objects, to which the public interests may require his attention. In proportion to the distance or other circumstances that render communication with the government difficult, tardy, or precarious, the necessity for such powers is increased. From the difficulties attending that distant command, arose the necessity for the general to exercise sovereign power within his limits.

This power, if not conferred by the letter of his instructions, was to be found, as it ever is in such cases, in the principle of self preservation, that paramount law of nature, under which the citizen-general, who valiantly fights for the liberties of the citizens his fellows, and especially in such manner as to evince his eagerness to finish his work and return to mingle with them again, should ever find shelter. And may a na-

tion's hatred fall upon those, be they who they may, demagogues or giants in the law, (pigmies are beneath a nation's notice,) who would deny it him. And well placed would be a nation's hate; for when the authority of that law is questioned, and the citizen-soldier who has fought under its inspiring influence, is denied protection, refused shelter, and cast without the pale of preferment, then it may in truth be said, that *the years of the republic are numbered, and her days to come but few*; which is a saying, that, if well-founded, there is too much reason to believe would make glad many of our nominal republicans of the day. By this law, the general was commanded to preserve the commonwealth, at all hazards, and if it became necessary, at the expense of all other objects and interests; as were the consuls of Rome anciently. But as he could not otherwise accomplish this important object of his trust, it became necessary to pursue the course he did; and happy for his country was it, and still it is, that by I'vine goodness, Andrew Jackson was, and is, a ready-prepared instrument in the hands of Providence, to rescue the republic from past and present peril. As it was *necessary*, it became *just*, to proclaim martial law; take care of Louallier; remove Judge Hall; to convert bags of cotton to public use; and compel the citizens of New Orleans to defend their own property, rather than to shamefully negociate to give it up, as by the ignoble deed they would have surrendered the public's right in private property. And who dares contend that right? Then, by thus doing, he became entitled to the thanks and everlasting gratitude of the nation. But if, through imbecility of mind, he had been deterred from executing his purpose, by the arrogant pretensions to power assumed by these traitors in the civil ranks, then he would have been a fit object for *public censure*—for *national distrust*.

And here, as we presume, a second victory may be safely announced, by which the battle ground of New Orleans is freed, and for ever, from those internal foes to freedom, who, through false interpretation of public law, and tyrannic decrees of court, would assail and batter to the ground, freedom's fair temple; and who,



as enemies, should be considered far more dangerous, than were the sacrilegious invaders of this his fair domain, who composed Britain's proud host, that with its leaders, was offered up by the immortal Jackson, as a sacrifice to an offended god of liberty. For when his sanctuary is invaded by traitors within, who partake, in common with their fellows, of his numerous blessings, there will be still more offence taken, and more of sacrifice required, to propitiate that God, the author of our liberties, in whose goodness we have a guaranty for their continuance, only on the condition of an unremitting watchfulness over them, which, from the nature of things, is indispensable, as by the least relaxation in our vigilance, we hazard their loss. And are they not put to extreme jeopardy, by suffering his enemies to make the most conspicuous of their defenders a subject of slander, an object of disgust—nay, of *dread*? And do we not as a people, deserve, and should we not expect, to be punished therefor, and with additional stripes, for permitting such gross injustice to be done by those, who, with every characteristic of the demagogue, seek to effect their diabolical objects, for purposes sinister, and so palpable as not to be mistaken by those who will but look while they run? For what man of mighty arm, with this instance of national injustice and ingratitude staring him in the face, will hereafter step forth, as Jackson did, in the defence of his country, to interpose his broad shield, which, from its inscription of *valor, patriotism, and integrity*, intertwined, makes invincible all who fight under its protection?

That Gen. Jackson, in his approach to the chair of state, should be considered an object of dread, we deny; and for these reasons:—first, he has not exhibited the least lust for rule; and secondly, if he has such lust, the term of office is too limited to perfect any plan of lawless ambition; for, within three years and six months, he would again hear from the people, as did the elder Adams. Hence, his being held up as an object of *dread*, should be considered as a tale of the nursery, to frighten rather than convince.

The charge of murder, also, in the cases of *Arbuthnot and Ambrister*, and the *Six Militiamen*, has been made against him who "has filled the measure of his country's glory;" and been spread throughout our union, and over the world, by their grand organ, *the press*—that engine, so multipotent in spreading lies, over which, to the shame of the *press-men*, the administration have acquired so great control.

On an examination of the facts, the tables will probably be turned against those, for whose benefit the calumnies are so industriously circulated.

Arbuthnot and Ambrister were two British subjects, who, in pursuit of gain, (which is the Englishman's god,) had located themselves among savages, whom they instigated to murders, by establishing a trade in scalps; yes, *human scalps!!!* Their object was to extend their trade in pelts, by driving in our frontier settlements; and when, to accomplish that end, the massacre of men, women, and children became necessary, the measure was resorted to as coolly as would have been any other that a prospect of gain might recommend; for the principles of humanity interpose no obstacle to the calls of avarice with such miscreants, and it is to the diabolic influence of such renegadoes that we must impute the most of Indian massacre.

Upon these men (now the subject of hypocritical lament) were found nearly *two hundred scalps*; for which they had paid the Indians in beads, blankets, rum, fire arms, ammunition, and every thing else adapted to the *foul trade*; including the still more appropriate *tomahawk* and *scalping-knife*.

They were doomed to death, for an example of terror; and with as much justice and reason, (as appears to us mortals,) as was the Amalekite whom Samuel *hewed down*; for, by a single glance into futurity, General Jackson foresaw the consequences of an escape from punishment, after such horrid evidence of guilt as the scalps presented. He foresaw that lenity in this case would encourage such ruthless worshippers of mammon, to extend the ravages of the desolating tomahawk and scalping-knife. Therefore the infliction of death became a duty of the most imperious

nature; and had the general hesitated to perform it, he would then have justly merited censure.

Look at these circumstances which so characterize that transaction, you that have wives and children, and also you who have but the lesser delight of looking upon the innocents who make more happy your neighbor's lot; and then ask yourselves if the general is not to be applauded rather than censured, for that act; and also, if those who now labor so hard to make him a subject of abhorrence therefor, are not with justice to be suspected of sinister motives and base designs, that render them unworthy of confidence?

And now, fellow-citizens, let us look with an impartial eye to the case of the SIX MILITIAMEN; those "*poor innocents*," who, enshrouded and encased in their respective coffins, are now going the rounds from house to house, uttering the most dolorous lament, (especially the priest,) while soliciting votes and favor for Messrs. Adams & Clay; which appears to be their only object.

They were in the service of the United States, and were of course liable, if they transgressed, to such punishments as the laws imposed. In the solemn season of *war*, the duties of the citizens generally, become the *more imperative*—of the citizen-soldier, *the most so*; for to him is confided the public defence. Therefore, as we so much on them rely, it cannot be admitted, nor should it be, that our militia, when in the service of government, are entitled to the immunities of mere partizan corps, as are the cossacks of the Don, when attached to, but not incorporated with, the Russian armies. For were it the case, we might say of our militia, "*it is worse than worthless*."

These men, being the ringleaders of about two hundred, who were guilty of both mutiny and desertion, were condemned, and sentenced to die, by a court martial. This sentence, when approved by the general, who was at a distance, was carried into effect by a public execution. (We notice the fact of the general's absence, merely as a fact, but with no view to impress the belief that, if present, it would have been otherwise.) The trial, condemnation, and execution,

were in conformity to the laws; of the existence of which the mutineers were not ignorant. For desertion alone, they would have been condemned; and when to that the far greater crime of sedition was added, to nothing but a culpable neglect of duty could a pardon have been attributed. Therefore we imagine it to be impossible, notwithstanding the dependence that has been placed upon them, for this sable corps of electioneering politicians (although disinterred for that purpose) to obtain for Messrs. Adams & Clay, from men of understanding, a solitary vote, or the least of favor, by their *habiliments of woe—their grievous dole, —or tears of blood.*

We will not insult your understandings, fellow-citizens, by speaking of Mrs. Jackson; whom we believe to be an amiable lady and a sincere Christian. For as the constitution has devolved no power upon the people to make a *Lady-Presidentia*, and as the laws of the land give to every man (even including the President of the United States) the right to select a companion for himself; the intruding upon you the subject, would, in our opinion, be a libel upon the faculty of common sense; which, although a wrong daily committed upon you by those who arrogate the right to teach you what to believe and how to vote, we deem to be as unjust in politics, as it is confessed to be in morals, notwithstanding that the highest official example is set us to the contrary.

Of the irritable temper of which his opponents speak, we know nothing, believe nothing, nor care any thing; for it is known that he has associated with his fellow-men in important civil concerns, but not known that he has exhibited an irascibility, unbrookable by his associates. And we also know that he has consorted with men in military affairs, and from the astonishing results produced, we must believe that a cordiality existed. These are circumstances which forbid the idea, and prove the charge to be a calumny.

His being a “military chieftain,” although not yet imputed to him as a crime, that we have heard, is nevertheless insisted on as a *circumstance*, that in itself opposes a sufficient barrier to his election, if no other

objection existed. That this idea is held up as a frightful image, and only to terrify the weak, we believe; yet we would oppose to the *chimera* a true picture. That Gen. Jackson is a military man, all will agree; that he also is one of high renown, is a truth that his enemies (*though something loath*) are obliged to admit. But that he should therefore be incapacitated for civil rule, we deny: for the Lord God himself is said to be A MAN OF WAR, and Joshua, Gideon, Jephtha, and David, in the early, and the Maccabees, in the later days of Jewish history, were all eminent men in the field; yet they administered just rule, as in later times did Alfred of England, and Henri Quatre of France. These were all *mighty men of valor*, and were chosen, each in his turn, to be the armor-bearer of God; as was Washington in our fathers, and as, in our time, has Jackson been; who, as had the others, each in his day, has of late wielded the sword of the Lord, which is ever the sword of mercy; while the sword, when placed in the hands of *lesser men*, infuriated by their defeats in intrigue, ever becomes *the desolating sword of wrath*. Such it was in the hands of Absalom—of those factionists who gave up Samaria and Jerusalem, each in their turn, to the invader—of those who brought Rome to convulsions, and the necessity of resorting to the powerful arm of Cæsar, for protection and repose; and of those who afterwards brought upon her that “scourge of God,” who, beneath the everlasting floods, now finds that rest, which otherwise would have been denied his mouldering bones—of those who drenched England in blood, spilled in defence of the white rose and red—of those who brought France to the necessity of calling Bonaparte from Egypt, to rescue her from annihilation, and erasure from the map of Europe. All of these evils may be ascribed to the ambition of those who, from lack of qualification to win the empire of *hearts*, by deeds of patriotic valor, sought to obtain rule over the bodies and minds of men, by *cunning and force*. They were evils, brought upon their respective nations by such shallow, yet obtrusive and presumptuous politicians, as free governments particularly abound in, and of

such as we ourselves have no great lack ; being, as props, too feeble to sustain ; but as sappers, powerful to undermine, and bring empire to ruin with mighty crash.

This, fellow-citizens, is no chimera conjured up to intimidate ; but it is a true image, and made palpably so from history, which teaches us that it is the domineering demagogue that should be held up as an object of dread to the people, rather than a “military chieftain.” It also teaches us that its warnings are not to be neglected with impunity.

Having examined the charges which have been made against Andrew Jackson, to prove him disqualified for the Presidency, and proved their falsity, as is trusted, to your satisfaction ; and also, as we hope, obviated the objection to his high military character, and shown the distinguishing marks by which the *sword* may be known to be either an object of *terror* or *desire* ; we would now call your attention to some circumstances which, in our opinion, tend to show that he is not only eminently qualified to execute the high trust, but also that, at this time, he is the only man in the nation, (of whom we have any knowledge,) who can with reason be imagined to be capable of giving security to our invaluable institutions.

On bringing to recollection the fact that we have no special promise for protection against the consequences of our own errors and sins ; it must come with force to the minds of a moral and religious people, given to habits of reflection, (as we claim to be,) that if we indulge in what has been the bane of other nations, it will prove to be our own. And when we further tax our memory, and call to mind that we in scripture read that the *errors* of rulers are *sins* for which God punishes nations ; we shall find ourselves under the greatest of obligations to look to and correct the errors of ours. Nor can we neglect this duty without calling into question our pretensions to reflection ; or absolve ourselves from its discharge on the plea of interest, sympathy, or antipathy, without forfeiting our claim to both religion and morals.

It has not escaped an intelligent community, that the prosperous ease which we have so long enjoyed, has produced a listlessness as regards the morality or immorality of measures, pursued in the management of public affairs; or that it is a circumstance that, by favoring, has given confidence to the workers, and extent to the works of corruption, and has of course brought upon us the necessity of an Augean labor. But where, except to Tennessee, can we look for an Hercules?

That General Jackson's popularity (as was that of Washington) is the necessary consequence of that confidence which only those who protect us in the hour of peril can obtain, will not be denied. The extent to which he lives in hearts, (for he has not lost one,) will appear from recollections of the last canvass. Then there were but three or four papers in the Union (and not one in Washington) that supported his cause; while there were (as was the difference at a certain period, between the prophets of the Lord and Baal) as many hundreds arrayed against him. Yet he had a far surpassing vote, and would have had a major one, were it not that a master stroke of policy (before noticed) was resorted to for the purpose of preventing it. This shows him to be a *strong man* indeed; for it is only those who the people will so to be, that are really strong: which in our apprehension, is an important circumstance, and one that is not sufficiently attended to, though it appears to have arrested Mr. Adams's attention; for he once, while impressed with its weight, expressed regret that there was no constitutional provision, by which he could refer the question of the election back to the people. That these impressions were so soon effaced, that he forgot to invite, by message, an amendment to that effect, militates not against the belief in their existence at the time; nor is the circumstance further important than to urge upon us the conviction, that Mr. Adams labors under a malign influence, by which he is hindered from acting as his conscience dictates.

As it is apparent to all, that intrigue pervades the whole body politic, and as it is through righteousness

alone that a nation can be exalted, and as this is a text which is made peculiarly applicable to us, from the extreme delicacy of our system, before alluded to ; it now behooves us to purify our councils, (those corrupt fountains,) that we may drink pure waters, and live. To which end, it has also become necessary for us to employ some man of might, and of integrity, to stop those currents of corruption, (which, setting from Washington, extend to every limit,) and rescue us from the breakers to which they are onsetting us. But where shall we look for that man, who, steadfast himself amidst political gamblers, traders, and brokers, will, like Job, maintain his integrity? To this question, the answer is readily made, by the simultaneous turn of every eye to the *Hermitage* : where, in that illustrious personage, the *Farmer of Tennessee*, who so withstood temptation in Washington, we behold one, and he a *solitary*, who with strength of arm and heart of integrity combined, stands our only hope for protection against the torrents of corruption, by which the temple of liberty is *already polluted*, and the assaults of faction, by which the fortress of freedom is threatened with demolition.

To the defence of the high trusts committed to our charge, for the benefit of latest posterity, by our ancestors, who sealed the deed with their blood, we, fellow-citizens, are bound by the most sacred of duties ; and to the performance of which, as the only means of averting the most fatal consequences of neglect to ourselves, we are urged by the warnings of history and revelation, which unite to proclaim from the God of Justice, who is the God of Nature, this, his high command :

Arise, ye hitherto favored people ! arise, and purge ye yourselves from the great sin of 1825 ! For why should you, by sanctioning the same, partake thereof, and die ?

SIMEON HUBBARD, *Chairman.*

EPAPHRAS PORTER, *Secretary.*

*Your discourse, is kept close but  
I am told its sentiments coincided with*



CONGDON'S TAVERN, 13th May, 1828.

THE foregoing Address, being read and approved, was ordered to be printed, accompanied by the following resolutions; which were unanimously passed:

RESOLVED, That the Presidency of these United States should be held as the most sacred interest; and as such, not to be contaminated by the usages of barter and trade, nor scandalized by intrigue, or debased by bringing it down to the jarring interests of man, incident to a people whose extensive empire embraces every climate.

RESOLVED, That the President of these States should be the man of the people, and of the *whole* people, and not the chieftain of a section, or the partizan of a particular interest.

RESOLVED, That a candidate for the Presidency, if worthy of the trust, will not make it known whom he intends to appoint to office, if elected; nor suffer himself to be interrogated on that subject.

RESOLVED, That Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, is entitled to the first office in the Republic, for important services performed in the time of her greatest need; and that his integrity and singleness of heart still further recommend him, as an object of national trust, and worthy to be supported for the Presidency, by a reasoning as well as a grateful people.

RESOLVED, That John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, is worthy of the people's support for the Vice Presidency, at the ensuing election, from having, in the last canvass for President, when a prominent candidate himself, given place to one more favored, on the first manifestation of the people's voice; thereby evincing a due submission to the will of the people, without which no man, however otherwise qualified, is worthy of rule in free States.

RESOLVED, That we admire the consistency of John Quincy Adams; we believe his political sentiments to be the same *now*, that they were in 1800—decidedly opposed to republican government.

RESOLVED, That we had, *previous* to the last Presidential election, full confidence in the political integrity of Henry Clay.

RESOLVED, as the unanimous sense of this meeting, That the *charge* of bargain and intrigue between Clay and Adams, at the last Presidential election, has been clearly established by the recent investigation, had before the Senate of Kentucky.

RESOLVED, That Henry Clay, as a dangerous man, and destitute of integrity, is unworthy the confidence of republicans.

RESOLVED, That J. Q. Adams, although not to be condemned, as was Absalom, for stealing the hearts of the people, yet he is to be censured for appointing foreign missions, during a recess of Congress, and of course without the consent of the Senate; whose voice therein, being of constitutional right, was necessary to sanction the measure. Therefore, we deem him to be unworthy of the people's support.

SIMEON HUBBARD, Chairman.

EPAPHRAS PORTER, Secretary.

104











